

Numerus Infaustus.

A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
Unfortunate Reigns

OF
WILLIAM the Second. *K*
HENRY the Second.
EDWARD the Second.
RICHARD the Second.
CHARLES the Second.
JAMES the Second.

*— sine Cæde, & sanguine pauci
Descendunt Reges, & siccâ Morte Tyranni.*

The SECOND EDITION: With Notes.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Piece was wrote and first published in the Year 1689. perhaps with some Design of making a Compliment to the happy Effects of the late Revolution, unto which the ingenious Author plainly appears to have been a sincere Friend and Well-wisher.

And as the Subject is handled with a good deal of Spirit, and in a very impartial genteel Manner, we presume the moral Instructions which may be drawn from such just Observations on the bad Use of Power, and the unhappy Mistakes which former Princes have fallen into, are to be considered, at all Times, as useful Documents to Posterity. For this Reason we thought that the Republication of so many remarkable Parts of English History, intimately relating to a good or bad Government, and setting both Extremes in a proper Light before the judicious and impartial Reader, could not fail of meeting with a favourable Reception from the Public, as well as from those who may think themselves more immediately concern'd in so nice and delicate a Subject. One Thing, however, the Editor begs may be believed concerning himself, "That it is his pure Intention in this Undertaking to preserve a Piece which to him appears

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to be writ with a great deal of Spirit." This he hopes he may do, without running the Hazard of giving any manner of Offence to his Superiors, or being accused of attempting to convey the least Insinuation which can be thought either undutiful or indecent.



THE



THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
WILLIAM the Second,
Nick-Named RUFUS.

A Patre, ultimâ valetudine decumbente, in Successorem adoptatus.

THE First William gained England by Conquest, and bequeathed it to the Second by Will. By his Invasion he usurped the Right of his Cousin Edgar; and by his Legacy he infringed that of his Heir. He put out Harold the unlawful Possessor of the Kingdom; and put by Robert his lawful Successor.

William the Second of that Name, of fewer Years than his Brother, but of greater Interest in the Inclinations of his Father, with hasty Steps ascended the Throne, entering the Royal Palace at the wrong Door. He endeared himself to the

one by the Resemblance of Humours, and the Roughness of his Temper; and over-reached the other by the Credulity and Easiness of his Disposition: Giving no more Deference to the Obligation of Promises, than to the Right of Primogeniture. His Vows to God, his Word to his Brother, and his Engagements to his Subjects, were all plighted with a like Sincerity, and with the same Integrity observed, and maintained. He was positive and sturdy, and that passed for Valour; he was crafty and politick, and that was reported for Wisdom: He was accounted religious, when he pursued his own temporal Advantages; and was reputed prophane, when he invaded the Privileges of the Church: He was immeasurably covetous, only in order to the being unreasonably profuse; and under the Pretence of Religion, he committed the greatest Acts of Enormity and Impiety. His Incontinency was not taken notice of, because he could not transgress the Vow of Matrimony; and though in Speculations and Disputes he seemed concerned for Religion, yet by his Actions he appeared to be a practical Atheist. The Course of his Life was turbulent and uneasy; and the Manner of his Death violent and untimely.

He was no sooner mounted on the Throne, but Troubles arose to discompose his Quiet. *Robert* his eldest Brother highly resenting this great Injury, to be jostled out of his Seat by the Partiality of his Father, and the Encroachment of his Brother; began to think of some timely Expedients for the Recovery of his Right; and being assisted in his Pretensions by several of the Nobility in *England*; as *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, *Roger Montgomery* Earl of *Skrewsbury*, *Hugh de Grandemenil*, *Robert Mowbray* Earl of

of *Northumberland*, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, and divers others of the Clergy and Nobility, (who raised great Forces, and possessed themselves of many considerable Places;) the King was constrained to compound for his Peace, by an Assurance of 3000 Marks *per Annum* to his Brother during Life, and the Reversion of the Crown of *England* after his Decease; and by a solemn Promise to restore to the People their ancient Laws, and to indulge them the Liberty of hunting in his Forests. By these Condescensions he dissipated the present Storm that impended over his Head, and gained some short Respite from his growing Troubles.

This Tempest was hardly allayed in the South, but fresh Clouds began to gather in the North. *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, thinking it a fit Opportunity to purvey for himself, and inlarge his Borders, when his Neighbour was embroiled with intestine Commotions; makes a sudden and furious Incurſion into *Northumberland*, over-runs the Country, burns and destroys all before him, and returns Home loaden with the Spoils of the Inhabitants, without the least Hinderance, or Opposition. And though it was not long before King *William* was sufficiently revenged on his Invader, whom he reduced to the Necessity of paying the ancient Homage due to the Crown, and to give Assurance of his future Fidelity by new Stipulations; yet such an Enterprize could not be accomplished, without a vast Expence of Treasure, and a great Loss of Men.

The King (who was very prodigal of his Promises, but slow and penurious in the Performance) neglected the Payment of the Composition made with his Brother *Robert*; whereupon he makes his Application to the King of *France*;

who presently furnished him with considerable Supplies; by which Assistance he assaulted and took several Towns in *Normandy*; and by his Success obliged King *William* again to raise a powerful Army, and to transport them into that Country; where though by his crafty Address he avoided the Effusion of Blood, and the Consumption of his Forces, yet he wasted his Treasure, and purchased a Truce with the King of *France* by the Mediation of Money.

And now all Things were calm and quiet, but not long so; the Sky began to be over-cast with gloomy Exhalations, and Troubles arose upon an Occasion as unusual as unnecessary. *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* was a generous and magnanimous Prince, and being at Peace and full Amity with his Neighbours, he undertook the Toil of a Journey as far as *Gloucester*, to pay a Royal Visit to his Ally and Friend the King of *England*: Who either out of a Humour, Pique, or Pride, would not vouchsafe so much as to see him; which barbarous Return to the Civility of the affronted King did so exasperate him, that he posted back to his own Country, made ready a powerful Army, with all Expedition, and again infested *Northumberland*, ravaging through the Country without Controul, and enriching his Followers by the Ruin and Desolation of harmless and unconcerned People. And though in the Prosecution of this Design he lost his Life, and the Life of *Edward* his eldest Son, and his whole Army was entirely routed and defeated, (being drawn into an Ambuscade by *Robert Mowbray* the King's Lieutenant,) yet King *William* suffered a great Diminution of his Honour and Fame, by so unhospitable a Refusal of a common Respect to his Equal in Degree and Title.

The

The King, who was never happy in any long Intermission of those distempered Fits that shook him, fell now into a sharp and dangerous Paroxysm. The *Welchmen* taking notice of the King's incessant Troubles and Distractions; to gratify both their Revenge and Avarice, entered the *English* Borders; and making use of such Advantages as naturally attend a Surprise, they became Masters of many Towns and strong Holds, committing all Manner of Outrage and Hostility, exercising that Malice, which they bore to the King, upon the Lives and Estates of his innocent Subjects. The King, with great Industry and Care, got together a handsome Army, with which he marched in Person toward them, promising to himself an easy and cheap Victory: But he was disappointed of his Purposes, and forced to retreat with all Speed to *London*, to compose an Army of greater Strength, and Number. In the mean time, to increase his Perplexity, *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, (who had done him such signal Service in repelling the *Scots*, and destroying their King;) finding himself disregarded, and no competent Honour or Reward designed for his singular Merits, began to be malecontent; and joined in an open Conspiracy against his Lord and Master. But the King, reinforced with an Army far stronger than ever he had imbodyed before, took, and imprisoned the Earl, and entered the *Welch* Territories; where not being able to provoke them to the Decision of a Battle, he pursued them with Stratagems, erected many Castles and Forts, that so by Degrees he might become Master of the Country: But they retreating to the natural Fortifications of Woods, Mountains, and inaccessible Passages, did so baffle him in his Attempts, and so harrafs and
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tire out his Soldiers, that he thought it most advisable to withdraw from the Enterprize, and to commit the further Prosecution of it to his Lieutenants, who in Time utterly subdued those naked and wild People, but not without horrible Instances of Cruelty and Barbarity.

Thus we have seen a Man advanced to a Throne, invested with Regal Authority, surrounded with all the external Glories and Felicities of a Diadem; yet denied the inward Satisfaction and Tranquility of a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of his Acquisitions. Hitherto we have observed, how Invasions from Abroad, and Distractions at Home, rendered his Life uneasy: Let us now take an Account of his immoral, and irregular Actions, which made his Person unacceptable, and his Reign unfortunate to his Subjects.

He assumed to himself an immoderate and licentious Power to supply his Necessities by the Detriment and Spoil of others. And because in his Time the Clergy was of all Ranks of Men the most opulent, he found them the most proper Objects of his Rapine and Oppressions. When any Bishoprick or Abby became vacant, he presently seized the Revenues into his own Hand. He kept the See of *Canterbury* four Years to his own Use, and would have done it longer, but that a desperate Sicknes put him into a Fit of Devotion; for being at the Brink of Death, and ready to expire, he resolved to commute for his Intrusion, by the Donation of those Livings, which, (as he thought,) he could no longer detain, and hastily conferred the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*: But no sooner was Health restored, but his old Inclinations returned,

ed, and no other Tokens of Repentance appeared, but a Remorse and Sorrow for parting with two such rich Morfels; for he never desisted from importuning and tormenting the two poor Bishops, till he squeezed good Sums of Money from *Anselm*, and five thousand Pounds from *Bloet*.

He kept in his Hands at one Time three Bishopricks (*Canterbury*, *Winchester* and *Salisbury*,) and twelve Abbies; all which he set out to farm, and gathered the Profits of them into his own Coffers.

Being obliged to pay a great Sum of Money to the King of *France*, he found this Invention to procure it: He pretended a Resolution to make War, and a sudden Irruption into *Normandy*; in order to which he levied 20,000 Men (by Press and other coercive Means;) who being drawn to the Sea Side, and ready to embark, he ordered it to be signified and made known, that because he could more commodiously levy Men in *Normandy*, (without the Toil and Charge of transporting) whosoever would pay ten Shillings toward the raising of such Forces, should be excused from going on that Expedition: Which Proffer was so grateful and plausible to the Army, that there was hardly any Man that did not greedily comply with the Proposal. He added Extortion to Usury, took up Money by indirect Courses, and employed it to unjust Purposes; he would not supply his Brother with Money, (tho' upon a pious Undertaking to the Holy Land) without a Mortgage of his Dutchy of *Normandy*; and he could not raise it but by Exactions, and compulsory Loans; so that to advance the Sum, the Bishops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords destroyed their Tenants.

Spiritual Preferments were not given, but sold by Auction; and he received from *Thurstan* 500 Pounds for the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and fell out with *Anselm*, because he would not give a 1000 Marks for being made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

He arrogated to himself the Glory of building *Westminster-Hall*; but his Subjects were at the Expence, who believed, that he reared that Fabrick only for a Pretence to lay a heavy Tax upon the People, and was a great Gainer by the Project.

If the Priests transgressed by carnal Deviations from the strict Rule of their Profession, the Penance was in the Purse; and a Composition with the King was as effectual, as a sacerdotal Absolution. And because he received very great Profit by particular Indulgences given to the *Jews*, he encouraged the Relapse of such as were converted to Christianity; accounting it no Matter to be *Followers of Christ*, so they were but Benefactors to him.

Among other Faults laid to his Charge, it is worth observing, that he is noted for imposing excessive Fines upon diverse of the Nobility, for small Offences.

Having by his Avarice and Severities wearied his Subjects, and disposed them to seek for Safety and Liberty in other Countries; he unexpectedly issued a Proclamation, that no Man should depart the Realm without his License, for the Purchase of which he did not care to lose a Subject: While Promoters, Informers, and such Sort of State Caterpillars were his principal Favourites, and Partakers of his Grace and Bounty.

He had a Mind to be reputed an exact Observer of his Word and Promise, And perhaps he was so
in

in Matters of small Importance : But when Profit and Advantage came to be weighed, Self-Interest soon turned the Scale. He made a solemn Agreement with his Brother *Robert*, to bequeath the Crown of *England* to him ; but it does not appear, that he remembered the Engagement, or ever had an Intention to be just to his Word. When he was pressed by an intestine War, and by the Loyalty and Valour of the *English* rescued from the Rebellion of his *Norman* Followers, he promised a Restitution of their antient Laws, and an Indulgence to some Privileges which were much valued by the People of those Times ; but with the Necessity the Obligation ceased, and he became a Bankrupt of his Word and Promise. As little did he regard his Promises to God his Creator ; for being dangerously sick at *Gloucester*, and despairing of Recovery, he made a solemn Vow, that if he were restored to his Health, he would lead a new Life, and give over all his disorderly Courses ; but the Restoration of his Strength was accompanied with the Return of his former vicious Inclinations, and he became ten Times more the Child of Wrath, than he was before.

He is reported to have been very lascivious and incontinent ; but in Regard he did not defraud his own Wife, (having never been married) and was not observed to *debauch the Wives of other Men*, he only passeth for a simple Fornicator, and even in that not at all curious, not entertaining a select Concubine, but promiscuously trucking with any Woman that came in his Way.

To shew how conscientious he was in Matters of Religion, take the Words of Sir *Richard Baker* in his Chronicle of *England*, p. 35. He appointed a Disputation to be held between Christians
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and

“ and *Jews*, and before the Day came, the *Jews*
 “ brought the King a Present, to the End they
 “ might have an indifferent Hearing : The King
 “ took the Present, encouraging them to quit
 “ themselves like Men : And swore by St. *Luke's*
 “ Face, (his usual Oath,) that if they prevailed
 “ by Disputation, he would himself turn *Jew*,
 “ and be of their Religion. A young *Jew* on a
 “ Time was converted to the Christian Faith,
 “ whose Father being much troubled at it, pre-
 “ sented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to
 “ make his Son return to *Judaism* ; whereupon
 “ the King sent for his Son, commanding him
 “ without more ado to return to the Religion of
 “ his Nation : But the young Man answered,
 “ He wondered his Majesty would use such
 “ Words ; for being a Christian he should rather
 “ persuade him to Christianity : With which
 “ Answer the King was so confounded, that he
 “ commanded the young Man to get him out of
 “ his Sight. But his Father finding the King
 “ could do no good upon his Son, required his
 “ Money again. Nay, (saith the King,) I have
 “ taken Pains enough for it ; and yet that thou
 “ may'st see how kindly I will deal, you shall
 “ have one half, and the other half you cannot in
 “ Conscience deny me.”

In one Act he shewed himself a Tyrant, and
 an Atheist ; for fifty Gentlemen being accused for
 hunting and killing the King's Deer, he caused
 them to be condemned to the Trial by Fire ;
 which they escaping untouched by the miraculous
 Providence of God, he being thereby defeated of
 his greedy Expectation by the Confiscation of
 their Estates, fell into an outrageous Passion, and
 cried out, *How happens this ! Is God a just*
Judge in suffering it ? Now a Murrian take him
that believes it.

But

But Vengeance from Heaven soon overtook *him that did not believe it*; for the King (though warned by Dreams and other uncommon Prelages, of some approaching Disaster,) appointed a Hunting in the new Forest upon the second of *August*. When the Day came, he began to be perplexed with the Remembrance of those ominous Bodings, and staid within till Noon: But having at Dinner driven away all Care and Fear, by drinking himself into Hardiness and Security, he mounted his Horse, and eagerly followed the Chase: Shortly after *Sir Walter Tyrrel*, a Knight of *Normandy* (to whom the King at their going out had given two Arrows very strong and sharp, telling him, That he knew how to shoot to Purpose,) having a very fat Buck in View, and at a convenient Distance to be struck, let fly an Arrow, which glancing on a Tree, or else grazing on the Back of the Deer, reached the King, hit him in the Breast, and he immediately dropt down dead.*

Thus fell *Nimrod the mighty Norman Hunter*, destroyed by that very Sport in which he took such excessive Delight; violently brought to Death on that Occasion, by which he had deliberately designed the Destruction of many others; and in that very Place where his Father had depopulated so many Towns, and ruined so many religious Houses, for the Accommodation of wild Beasts, and to gratify his own inordinate Pleasures.

* *August 2d*, A. D. 1100. at a Place called *Chaveringham*, where since a Chapel hath been erected. *Sir Richard Baker*.

T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
H E N R Y the S e c o n d .

THOUGH the Accession of *Henry*, the Son of *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, to the Crown of *England*, be not branded with the *un-favorable* Terms of *Intrusion*, or *Usurpation*; yet who-soever will impartially revolve the *Chronicles* of those Times, may modestly conclude, that *he jump't into the Throne over the Back of his Mother. Maud* (commonly stiled the *Empress*,) was the only Daughter and Heir of *Henry* the First; and though she was an *Empress*, and afterwards a *Dutchess*, yet she could never arrive at the *Station* of a *Queen*. *Stephen* usurped the Crown, and kept it from her; and *Henry* her Son confirm'd the *Disseisin*, by compounding for his own Succession, without any *Regard* to his Mother's Title. Whether she was locked up in an unknown Prison, or estranged by Banishment, or secretly made away, it were a great Presumption in me to assert, since the *Writers* and *Historians* of those Days make no positive Determination in the Matter: But that she was civilly dead, that no Notice was taken of her right and legal Claim to the Government, after she had so unsuccessfully

cessfully contended with King *Stephen*, nothing can be more manifest. *Henry* her Son was a young, active, and valiant Prince; very potent, endowed with great Possessions, and in Expectation of greater Additions: He was in his own Right Duke of *Anjou*, in Right of his Wife Duke of *Guien* and Earl of *Poitou*, and in Right of his Mother Duke of *Normandy*, and presumptive Heir to the Kingdom of *England*. This Greatness of Estate, added to the Greatness of his Spirit, and buoyed up by the Hopes of a far greater Augmentation of his Fortunes, pushed him on to set up for himself in a Competition for the Crown of *England*: To the Atchievement of which, many Accidents concurring, (as the untimely Death of *Eustace* the Son of King *Stephen*, the melancholy Despair of his Mother the Empress, upon her unprosperous Contest with *Stephen*, and the Loss of her base Brother†, and other her fast Friends;) he came to a Composition with King *Stephen*, and a perfect Reconciliation was made between them; chusing rather to succeed him by Adoption, than to wait the natural Descent of his Inheritance by the Death of his Mother. Whether a prophetic Foresight of the short Period prescribed to the Reign of King *Stephen*, or a secret Design to catch some Opportunity to accelerate his own Investiture, prompted him on to this Accommodation, lies only within the Compass of Conjecture; but so it fell out, that his Possession by Survivorship was not long prorogued; the Agreement being made in *January* 1154, by mutual Consent, and consummated in *October* following, by the Death of King *Stephen*.

† *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, natural Son to King *Henry* I. a great Champion for her in King *Stephen*'s Reign.

Henry the Second being now actually King, disturbed by no Competitor, or Pretender, might, with all Affluence of Honour, Wealth, and Pleasure, have enjoyed his Kingdom in profound Peace; but in Despight to Fortune, who hitherto had courted him, he created Troubles to himself, and was the unlucky *Author of his own Misery*. For though the *Rebellious* Insurrection of the *Welch*, in the first Year of his Reign, did somewhat discompose his Quiet; yet the Issue of it did only tend to aggrandize his Name, to make him more revered At-home, and more awfully considered Abroad. But the Expedition into *Scotland* was the Product of his own Injustice: *Stephen*, his Father by Adoption, had granted *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire* to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, and *Maud* his Mother had given *Northumberland* to the same. Henry disdain- ing to see his Kingdom cantonised, and grudging that such *considerable Parts* of it should be dismembered from the Body, and become the Patrimony of his Neighbour, demands the Estate by a military Claim, and marching thither with a powerful Army, repossesseth himself of Part of those alienated Lands, and voluntarily relinquisheth the rest.

The same restless Humour prompted him to persecute his Brother *Geoffrey*. For his Father on his Death-Bed bequeathed the Dukedom of *Anjou* to him, but with this Limitation, that so soon as he should become King of *England*, he should deliver up *Anjou* to his Brother *Geoffrey*: And for the further Assurance of it, he obliged his Lords to swear, not to suffer his Body to be buried, till his Son *Henry* had taken his Oath exactly to perform it. *Henry* solemnly binds himself by Oath to perform his Father's Will, but afterwards as wickedly

edly breaks his Vow (having obtained a Dispensation for so great an Impiety, from his Holy Father Pope *Adrian*.) and entring into *Anjou* with an Army, took from his Brother, (who was in no Capacity to resist so *puissant* an Invader,) not only the Country of *Anjou*, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his Maintenance; which unnatural Treatment had so fatal an Operation on the poor Duke, that within a very short Time it broke his Heart.

And now *Lewis* King of *France* began to find him a costly and hazardous Diversion; for having not well digested the Affront put upon him by King *Henry* in marrying of *Eleanor* his divorced Queen, and seeking all Occasions to demonstrate his Resentments, he became an open Abettor of *Raymond* Earl of *St. Giles*, with whom King *Henry* had a Controversy about the Earldom of *Thoulouse*. Hereupon the Litigants began mutually to arm, and great Forces were raised on both Sides; but being just ready to join in a bloody Battle, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of Friends.

And lest Matters should be wanting to propagate new Cares, and Interruption to the Progress of his Felicity, by an over-fond and unexampled Indulgence, he assumed his Son *Henry* (then seventeen Years of Age) into a Partnership in the Throne; whose arrogant Behaviour, and piquant Repartee at the very Time of his Coronation, administered just Cause to the King to repent his Rashness. For the King, to do Honour to his young Collegue, at the Coronation Feast would needs carry up the first Dish to the Table; which the Archbishop (who had performed the Ceremony) observing, said merrily to the new King, *What an Honour is this to you, to have such a Waiter*

at your Table? The other replied, *Why, what great Matter is it from him, that was but the Son of a Duke, to do Service to me, that am the Son of a King, and a Queen?* Neither was it long before the King was sensibly convinced of his Weakness. For the young King having imbibed some mutinous Notions of Discontent from the Insinuations of the *French King*, and being animated by his Advice and Assistance, began openly to oppose his Father. For an Aggravation to the old King's Misfortunes, *Eleanor* his Queen, enraged with Jealousy, and not able to endure the Sight of so many Concubines, * to which her Husband had given up himself; not only incenseth her Son *Henry* to proceed in his *Enterprize*, but secretly persuadeth *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, two other of her Sons, to join with him against their Father, encouraging them to expect a more liberal Maintenance from their Brother, than their penurious Father did allow them. By these Instigations they repair into *Normandy*, and join themselves with their Brother; who growing more insolent by their Assistance, returned a haughty and imperious Answer to a kind and loving Message from his Father; disdaining to lay down Arms, unless he would first lay down his Authority, and resign the Kingdom. To shuffle Matters into the greater Perplexity, *Lewis* King of *France* began to form a League against King *Henry*; and having called together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and inveigled *William* King of the *Scots*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Hugh Bigod*, and other the Accomplices of his Son, they all joined in an Oath to aid and assist the young King with

* Of which Fair *Rosamond* the Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of *Salisbury* was the Favorite.

their whole Power, and thereupon in one Day they began their Attacks; the French invading Normandy, Aquitain and Britain; and the King of Scots, Northumberland. The old King in a short Time disincumbered himself from these Exigencies, and triumphed over all his Enemies; but new Troubles, like *Hydra's* Heads, sprung up every Day to arrest his Tranquility; and he had no sooner made a Truce with his Son *Henry*, but the Defection of his Son *Richard*, who had possess'd himself of a great Part of the Province of *Poitou*, obliged him to transport an Army thither, and by the Influence of it to reduce him to Obedience. But the Splendor of his Success was darkened with a sensible Misfortune: *Henry* his Darling, the Co-partner of his Empire, but the Excrecence of his Throne, ended his Competition with his Life, to the equal Content and Sorrow of his Father.

Within a while *Richard*, his Heir apparent, revived his former Discontent, relapsed into the old Fit of Rebellion, and drew along with him his Brother *John*, with many more of his Father's Adherents and Followers, who all joined with *Philip* King of *France* (the Inheritor of his Father's Crown, and his Animosity against King *Henry*.) He presently formed an Army, and (lest natural Affection should prevail above conceived Injuries) with all Speed and Vigour laid Siege to the City of *Mentz*, in which King *Henry* was then personally present; who apprehending himself to be in great Danger, and unwilling to fall into the Hands of such Enemies, secretly withdrew out of the Town, and escaped. But the Town being taken (the Place of his Nativity, and in which he took great Delight) he became almost distracted with Grief and Passion,

and in the Extremity of his Rage uttered this blasphemous Expression ; *I shall never hereafter love God any more, that has suffered a City so dear to me, to be taken from me.* Indeed this inconsiderable Loss made a mortal Impression on his Spirits, bereaving him of that Vigour and majestick Grace which accompanied him in all his Actions, so that he tamely condescended to seek a Peace at their Hands, to whom before he scorned to vouchsafe the Favour of any Conditions ; but when he came to understand that his beloved Son *John* was in the Conspiracy against him, he fell into a Fit of Fainting, and died within four Days.

King *Henry* was the Author and Instrument of his own Misfortunes: He came to the Crown in Peace and Quiet ; but never enjoyed it in Content or Satisfaction. He was an ungrateful *Son*, an indiscreet *Father*, an unnatural *Brother*, an unjust *Husband*, a niggardly *Master*, a fickle *Friend*, a severe *Enemy*, a valiant King, but too penurious.

His Actions were great and *renowned*, but smutted with the Tincture of notorious Vices. He dealt unjustly with the King of the *Scots* ; and to his Cruelty extended to his Brother was added a manifest Perjury.

He made his Son a Rival in his Throne, and took many strange Women to be Rivals in his Bed. As his Wife was divorced from her other Husband, so was his conjugal Love estranged from her.

His Partiality to his Sons is too manifest, while he fondly gave to *Henry* a Share in his Crown, and subtracted from his other Sons a competent Maintenance. But these contrary Causes produced the same Effect ; his Indulgence

to one, and his Niggardliness to the rest, provoked them all to be Rebels against him.

His Incontinency is so evident, that it supercedes all the Misprisions of Jealousy: His close Amours with the Fair *Rosamond* were palpably detected by the industrious Curiosity of the Queen; but his incestuous Dalliance with the Spouse of his Son, has left an incredible Blot upon his Memory.

His Carriage toward *Thomas Becket*, while alive, speaks him brave, and magnanimous; but his mean Submission to a sordid Penance at the Tomb of that saucy Prelate, discovers plainly that *Superstition* was predominant in him beyond a Sense of *true Religion*.

Parimony, which is commendable in Men of lower Ranks, was a Vice in him; by it he lost the Love of his Children, and disoblged his Subjects; while by Taxes, Confiscations, Seizures on Bishopricks and Abbies, and other avaritious Practices, *he lived poorly*, only that he might die rich.



T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
E D W A R D the S e c o n d .

E D W A R D of *Carnaerven* was the eldest Son of *Edward* the First, and succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. He was in his Person handsome; in his Conversation acceptable; in his Inclinations not *extremely vicious*; continent beyond any of his Predecessors; not given to grind his Subjects by hard Taxations, or to enrich himself by their Impoverishment. He ascended the Throne with universal Joy and Acclamations both of the Nobility and People; the Way to it was plain, and the Seat easy. He had the Advantages of an extraordinary Education, the Example of an illustrious Father and a victorious King, an early Initiation in the Business of State, a happy Opportunity to understand the *Art* of Reigning, by commanding the Realm, and presiding in Parliament, during his Father's Absence. When he took the Reins of Government into his Hands, he was neither in his Nonage, nor Dotage; the Kingdom stood in no Need of a Protector because of his Minority, nor an *Administrator*, because he was superannuated. He was just ripe for Rule, and all Circumstances con-

concurred to make the Conclusion of his Reign as prosperous as the Beginning.

Notwithstanding all these *happy* Preludiums, never was there a Prince more unfortunate; never was there a Life perplexed with more Disasters, or a Death attended with sharper Instances of Misery and Horror: Being persecuted by his Subjects, deserted by his Queen, deposed by the People, and inhumanly murdered by wretched Miscreants.

He began his Reign with a *rude* and irreligious Contempt of his renowned Father's Will, and dying Commands, which as it gave just Cause to the Subjects to suspect his Veracity and Constancy, so it appeared an ominous Presage of his future Calamities, and Desertion by Heaven. For whereas his Father had expressly charged him, never to recall *Pierce Gaveston* from Banishment (who had been the Pandar to the young Prince's Lusts, and the Debaucher of his Youth) he immediately sent for him Home, heaped Honours and Riches upon him, and grew scandalously fond of him. His Father settled his Quarrel with *Scotland* upon him by Entail, requiring him to carry his Bones about with him through that Kingdom, till he had subdued it: But so little Veneration had he for those *glorious* Relicks, that he neither took them with him in a military Procession, nor regarded their quiet Sepulture; but rather to affront them, he entered into a Treaty for his own Nuptials, before he had solemnized the Funerals of his Father. The old King had obliged him to send his Heart to the *Holy-Land*, with seven score Knights to prosecute the Holy War, and 32,000 Pounds, (a mighty Sum in those Days,) which he had gathered for that pious Use: He not only neglected his Father's Directions, but in plain Scorn
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and Despight to his Commands, he prodigally squandered it on that same *Garveston*, from whose very Sight he was precluded by his dying Father.

I shall not need to divide the History of his Life into several Acts; I may recite it, as it was, in one *Scene of Trouble and Misfortune*. The Revocation of *Pierce Garveston* from perpetual Exile, was very displeasing to the People: His Admission to the highest Honours and Favours about the Court, did smartly aggravate their just Resentments; but his Pride and Ostentation at the Marriage of the King in *France* (where the four Kings and four Queens were seen in all their Pomp, besides the King and his Bride, yet he was observed to excel them all in Bravery) had so sensible an Operation on the Lords of *England*, that when *Edward* and *Isabel* expected to be crown'd in the Presence of many Princes and noble Persons, they boldly went to him, and briskly told him how heinously he had transgressed his Father's Will in recalling *Garveston*, to which since they were Cautioners, they would see it performed; and unless he would remove *Garveston* from Court and Kingdom, they would not suffer his Coronation to proceed. King *Edward*, confounded with this stinging Declaration, gave them Satisfaction, and solemnly swore to do what they desired in the next Parliament, and so the Coronation proceeded: In the solemnizing whereof the King again provoked the Lords to Discontent, adding the Honour of carrying *St. Edward's* Crown before him, to the other Titles of *Garveston*; which urged them to enter into Consultation how to contrive some plausible Way to restrain the Violence of the King's Affection, which in a short Time took Effect. For *Garveston* not content to engross
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the King's Favour, and dictate his arbitrary Orders through the Kingdom, encroached on the Honour of the Nobility, and placed opprobrious Nick-Names upon divers of them, who therefore did not only envy him for his undeserved Advancement, but mortally hated him for his unsufferable Insolency. It was not long before a Parliament met, who unanimously pressed the King to apply a Remedy to their Grievances, in the Rear of which they urge the Banishment of *Garveston*: The King seeing no Safety in Expostulation, consents to their Demands, and the several Articles, (like those of the Council of *Trent*,) are enjoined under an Anathema, and Pain of Excommunication: Hereupon *Garveston* was sent into *Ireland*, but as the Chief Governor, not as an Exile; where after he had staid a while, and acted Things much conducing to his Reputation; King *Edward*, not able to endure his Absence, or indeed to live without him, remanded him Home, and married him to the Sister of the Earl of *Gloucester*. But *Garveston* was incorrigible, his Power exceeded all Limits, and his Expences all Possibility of Supply; the King's Revenue was wasted, the Queen's Maintenance retrenched, and all diverted to the *accommodating* the Luxury of the Favorite. The Lords began to ferment in a new *Discontentment*, and repairing to the King, positively told him, if he did not immediately remove *Garveston* out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise in Arms against him, as a perjured King. But he, after he had struggled a while between Love and Fear, condescended to his perpetual Banishment, making his Return a capital Offence, and so to be proceeded against, if ever found in the Kingdom. *Garveston* once more is dispatched out of *England*, and goes

goes to *France*; where finding no safe Abode, he passed into *Flanders*; and there meeting with no secure Shelter, he secretly returns to *England*, relying on the immovable Favour of the King, and the Interest of the Duke of *Gloucester*. The bewitched King received him with Transports of Joy, and slipping out of the Sight of the Lords, and all other Observers, betook himself to *York*, carrying his beloved Son with him. The Lords hearing of it, make after him, and chusing the great and potent Earl of *Lancaster* for their General, sent a Message to the King to deliver *Gaveston* into their Hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But being abused by evil Counsel, and disregarding the Message from the Lords, he marched from Place to Place, seeking a sure Refuge for his dear Favorite, refusing to stay with the Queen, who with Tears begged his Company, and lodged him in *Scarborough Castle*; which being furiously assaulted by the Confederate Lords, *Gaveston* thought it best to surrender himself, desiring only the Favour to be allowed once to see the King's Face, and the King reciprocally asked the same. *Gaveston* was sent under a Convoy toward *Wallingford*, but being intercepted by the Way, and forced from his Guard by the Earl of *Warwick*, after long Deliberation his Head was struck off at a Place called *Blacklow*. In the mean time the King of *Scots* taking notice in how unready a Posture Affairs were in *England*, how the King remitted all Care of the Government to *Gaveston*, and that he gave himself up to Luxury and Licentiousness, in a short Time, and with little or no Opposition, reduced almost all *Scotland* to his Obedience; and encouraged by that Success, he entered *England*, burnt, and took several Towns,

Towns, and being encounter'd with a splendid Army raised by King *Edward*, more resembling a Court than a Camp, and consisting of 100,000 Men ; he with an Army hardly amounting to thirty thousand, utterly overthrew and defeated them. This Misfortune was follow'd by the Loss of almost all *Ireland*, and the treacherous Rendition of *Berwick* ; which yet King *Edward* was in a fair way to recover, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* discover'd his immoderate Kindness to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, (whom he had substituted and embraced in the Room of *Gaveston*) and thereupon withdrew his Forces from his Assistance. These Crosses were accompanied with the Loss of *Northumberland*, whereof all the Towns were taken, or burnt by the *Scots*, and an incredible Number of Prisoners and Cattle carried into *Scotland* ; King *Edward* in vain attempting to seek a Reprisal, and at last being forced to pass over all Hopes of Satisfaction, by the Conclusion of a Truce. The unhappy King, postponing the Affections of his Subjects to the fond Love of a Darling, advanced *Hugh Spencer* to the highest Pitch of Honour and Favour, and committed all Affairs to his sole Administration. He, in perfect Imitation of his Predecessor,) servilely complying with the King's Humours, and arrogantly insulting over the Lords. They, to remove this insupportable Nuisance, continue in Arms, confederate together, and send a peremptory Message to the King, requiring the Confirmation and Execution of the Articles formerly granted, otherwise threatening to constrain him by Force of Arms ; and accordingly they assembled a mighty Body about *Dunstable*, where the King then lay ; but by the Interposition of the Prelates, an Accommodation was made, and all Things agreed to their mutual Satisfaction. Soon

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after a Parliament was call'd, wherein the King complain'd that the Lords had taken up Arms, had murdered *Pierce Gaveston*, and done him many other Affronts. They on the other Side, justify their Proceedings, as not undertaken against, but for the Preservation of his Person, and the Punishment of the public Enemies of the Kingdom. But the Queen, with the Prelates and the Duke of *Gloucester*, found an Expedient to qualify these Heats; the Lords became humble Suitors to the King for his Grace and Pardon, and he receives them kindly, as dutiful and loyal Subjects. But this Reconcilement, not being founded in Sincerity, was but of a short Duration: The two *Spencers*, Father and Son, became intolerable in their Covetousness, Oppression, and arbitrary Disposal of all Affairs; wherefore the Earl of *Lancaster*, with divers other Lords, entred into a new Confederacy, binding themselves by Oath, to live and die together, in the Maintenance of the Rights of the Kingdom, and to procure the Expulsion of the two *Spencers*. In Pursuance hereof, they gather a great Army, march to *London*, and insist stoutly on their former Demands; to which once more the King is induced to condescend, by the Mediation of the Queen and the Prelates; and by publick Proclamation the *Spencers* are banished. But in a short Time after, the Edict was revoked, they recall'd, and restored to their former Place and Authority. The Wind began now to change, and by a strange *Capricio* of Fortune, the King got the Ascendant over the mutinous Lords, conquered them in Battle, slew many of them in the Field, and put many to Death by the Sword of Justice; but so soon as the Heat of Revenge was a little qualify'd, repented of his Proceeding.

Hitherto the miserable King received only slight Wounds in the extreme Parts of his Body; now he received a Stab at the Heart. The Queen, enraged to see her Husband's Love diverted upon upstart Favourites, and disdaining to be a Pensioner to their Pleasure, found a plausible Excuse to repair into *France*; where, to be revenged on her Husband for his Neglect of her, she continued in too scandalous a Familiarity with the Lord *Mortimer**. The King being advertised of it, commanded her to return, and she delaying to come, he proclaimed her, and the Prince, (who was at that Time also in *France*) Enemies to the Kingdom, banish'd them and their Adherents, and strongly guarded the Seas with three Fleets, to intercept their Passage. The Queen, by the Help of foreign Friends, got together a considerable Army, and landed near *Harwich*, and was presently reinforced by the Conjunction of the Earl Marshal, the E. of *Lancaster*, the E. of *Leicester*, and many other Lords and Bps. The K. was asto-

* *Roger Lord. Mortimer*, was made Earl of *March* in the Parliament held at *Salisbury*, in *August*, 1328. *A. R. Edw. III. Secundo.*

He was hang'd at the common Gallows, at the Elms, (now call'd *Tyburn*) on the 29th of *Nov.* 1330, after *K. Ed. III.* had been in *France* to do Homage, where his Body remained two Days, as an opprobrious Spectacle for all Beholders.

He was accused, to have procured the late King's Death; to have been a Means of the *Scots* Escape at *Stanhope Park*, for which he had a Bribe of 20,000 Pounds; to have procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, which was so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; to have consumed the King's Treasure, besides all that was taken from the two *Spencers*; to have been too familiar with the Queen, &c. And for these heinous Offences, he was condemned of High-Treason, and executed as abovementioned.

The Queen (the King's Mother) was commonly reported to have been with Child by him.

nish'd at the News, being utterly irresolute what Course to take : He had *no Counsellors* about him, but the *Spencers* ; London *was not to be trusted* ; his *Army was wavering*, the *People from all Counties flocking in to the Queen*. In this Perplexity, he secretly *withdraws from the Court*, attended by the two *Spencers*, and a very few others ; and being disappointed of his Retreat to the Isle of *Lundy*, he *hides himself* in the Abby of *Nethe* ; where within a short Time he was *taken*, his Followers all apprehended, and the two *Spencers* publicly and ignominiously executed, and himself committed to the Custody of the Earl of *Leicester*. After *Christmas* a Parliament was call'd, wherein it was resolved to depose the King, and set up his Son ; who refusing to take the Crown, unless his Father would freely resign it ; the poor King as tamely surrender'd the Scepter, as he had before unworthily wielded it, and having formally renounced and *abdicated the Government*, and the Speaker of the Parliament renounced all the Allegiance to him, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, he was taken from the Earl of *Leicester*, (from whom his Enemies thought *he had too kind Usage*) and being hurried from Place to Place, and wearied with all Manner of Severity and Indignity, wasted by starving, tormented by noisome Stinks, and attempted by Poison, he was at last barbarously and inhumanly stifled to Death between two Pillows. The Murder being disavow'd by the Queen, the Executioners of it fled, and died miserably.

T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
R I C H A R D the Second.

IF Magnanimity, Valour, Piety, Gentleness, Liberty, and other heroic and princely Qualities, were communicable by Generation; if Virtue could be entailed; if the Gifts of the Mind descended by Inheritance, or were demisable by Will, or inseparably annexed to the Body; no Man could ever have a juster Pretension to Glory and Fame, than *Richard the Second*, the only Son of that incomparable Hero, *Edward the Black Prince*, and Grandson of that most illustrious and victorious *Edward the Third*. But Children do not always resemble the Features of the Father, to the great Shame and Scandal of the Mother: Wit and Vigor are seated in the Brain; and Children are not begotten by the Head.

Richard was a Child at the Death of his Father; and never acted like a Man, during his own Life. A Crown was too heavy a Load for his tender Brows, and the Reflection of its Brightness dazzled his Eyes.

The Transactions of State, during his Minority, are not to be the Subject of my Recital,
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since the Event of all Affairs that were prosperous, is to be imputed to the Conduct of his Guardians; and where any Accidents interrupted his Prosperity, it ought not to be attributed to his Misfortune. I shall therefore pass over such Occurrences as are accounted by Historians, during his Pupillage; and begin my Remarks at that Period when he assumed the regal Government.

And first he deposed the Lord *Scroop* from his Chancellorship, because he refused to seal some extravagant Grants made by the King; and receiving the Seal from his Hands, he kept it for a certain Time, and with it sealed such Grants and Writings as he thought fit, at his own absolute Will and Pleasure.

His Army sent against *France*, commanded by the Bishop of *Norwich*, was not very prosperous; but laying Siege to *Ypres*, as they past through *Flanders*, were forced by the Power of a *French* Army coming to their Relief, to raise the Siege, and retreat. And though the Bishop advised the King to lay hold on that Opportunity to try the Fortune of a Battle with the *French*, and he pretended over Night to be in mighty Haste and Eagerness to engage in that Enterprize, yet in the Morning the Humour was off, and consulting his own Ease and Safety, he appointed the Duke of *Lancaster* to go on that Employment; who spinning out the Time with dilatory Preparations, till the Bishop was returned, the Project was disappointed, the Undertaking came to nothing, and the Dispute was ended in a short-lived Truce.

Neither did the Expedition into *Scotland*, tend to the Honour of the King, or Advantage of the Kingdom: For the *Scots* having made IncurSIONS into *England*, taken, and burnt divers Towns up-
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on the Borders, and enriched themselves by a general Depredation of the Country, the Duke of *Lancaster* with the Earl of *Buckingham* was dispatched with a mighty Army to redress them: But having entered *Scotland*, and not being able, by any Art, or Stratagem, to provoke the *Scots* to Battle, they returned without obtaining any further Satisfaction, than a suitable Revenge in burning and destroying many Towns there. And though a Truce was made with the *Scots*, yet without any Regard to the Stipulation, they again entered the Borders, and took *Berwick*.

But now the unfortunate King began to form Plots against his own Honour and Quiet; for being incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster* (whether upon real, or upon imaginary Provocations) a Design was laid to have that great Man arrested, and arraigned of Treason before Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, (though by the Law of the Land his Trial ought to have been by his Peers;) and it is easy to imagine what would have been the Issue of such irregular Proceedings: But the Duke having timely Intimation of the Mischief and Contrivance against him, withdrew himself opportunely to his Castle of *Pomfret*, where he stood upon his Guard, till by the laborious Travel and powerful Intercession of the King's Mother (tho' by reason of her Corpulency she was most unfit for such an Employment) the King was pacified, and reconciled to the Duke.

The *Scots* still meditating Revenge, and the *French* King still ready to foment the Quarrel, prepared for a fresh Invasion of *England*; and receiving auxiliary Aids of great Number and Strength from the *French*, once more entered the *English* Borders. King *Richard* receiving Advertisement of it, with great Speed raised a mighty Army,

Army, and marching in Person at the Head of them, entered *Scotland*, burnt *Edinburg*, proceeding without Controul; but could by no Means draw the *Scots* to a Battle. They, in the mean Time, to divert the King's Progress, made a Descent into *Cumberland*, and besieged *Carlisle*; to the Relief of which the King approaching with so formidable an Army, obliged the *Scots* to retreat into their own Country, and upon their Retreat the King returned into *England*, bringing with him neither Honour nor Advantage by so fruitless an Expedition.

After these Things, (and some other Passages not so directly appertaining to the History of his Life,) King *Richard* began to hasten his own Destiny, and by imprudent Actions, pernicious Counsels, and an arbitrary Assertion of his indisputable Prerogative, to kindle those Flames of Mutiny and Discontent, which never were extinguished, but at the Expence of his own Blood, and the Loss of his Crown. *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford* and Marquiss of *Dublin* was his Darling, and *Michael de la Pool* was his Favorite: The first, a Gentleman of commendable good Parts, he created Duke of *Ireland*, (though he himself was but Lord of it;) the other, a Man of mean Extraction, he made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Chancellor of *England*; both very obnoxious, and not accomplished with such Merits, as might advance them in Titles or Offices beyond the antient Nobility, without Envy or Obloquy. These wicked Counsellors set a false Glass before the short-sighted King, and abused him with erroneous Representations of his own Sufficiency, absolute Authority, and uncontrollable Power: Infomuch that a Parliament being called, the King began sharply to expostulate with the

the Lords, and by an undecent Comparison with the Freedom of their Tenures, to challenge to himself an unquestionable Liberty. This haughty Carriage of the King, exasperated the Parliament, and fermented them to such a Degree of Dissatisfaction, that instead of consenting to grant him a Subsidy toward his Wars, they fell foul upon the *New Chancellor*, and never gave him over, till they obtained a severe Judgment against him to the *Forfeiture* of his Life, and the *Confiscation* of his Estate. The adverse Party were highly nettled at these Proceedings, and being pushed on by Revenge and Malice, they combined in a horrid Design to murder the Duke of *Gloucester*, and such other Lords as crossed the King in his extravagant Courses; which flagitious Plot was to be perpetrated upon an Invitation of them to a Supper in *London*. Sir *Nicholas Brember* the former Lord Mayor was a Prime Instrument in this Enterprize; but the King imparting this Matter to *Richard Exton* the present Lord Mayor, and endeavouring to make him an Accomplice in the Action, he would by no Perswasions be induced to consent to so vile an Attempt, and thereupon they desisted from the further Prosecution of it. Notwithstanding this, and many other untoward Passages, a Subsidy was granted to the King under certain Limitations; but the Parliament were so *disgusted*, because the King had *respited* the Execution of the *Judgment* against the *Chancellor*, that they positively declared, unless the *Chancellor* were removed, they would proceed no further in a Parliamentary Course. The King hereupon grew cholerick, and plainly told them, he would rather apply himself to the *French King* for Assistance, than submit to his Subjects: Yet upon good Reasons offered by the Lords, a

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great Change was made in the Ministers of State, and particularly the *Chancellor* was removed: And so desirous were the Lords and Commons to have the Duke of *Ireland* excluded from the *King's Presence*, that they were content he should receive 30,000 Marks, on Condition he would transport himself into *Ireland*. But no sooner was the Parliament dissolved, but the King recanted all his Condescensions, revoked all Orders against the Chancellor, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest, and received them into higher Favour than they were in before. And though the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham* performed a noble Exploit, hardly to be parallel'd in History, yet their Service was disregarded, and their Persons flighted, because the Duke of *Ireland* gave them no Countenance: By whose Contrivance a new Plot was laid to destroy the Duke of *Gloucester*; and the easy King, surrounded with Parasites and corrupt Judges, suffered them to pursue their extravagant Practices, and 2000 Persons were at once indicted before Sir *Robert Tresilian* the Chief Justice. He then propounded certain Queries to *Robert Belknap* Lord Chief Justice, and other Judges, which they soon resolved, in Defiance of the Law, and the Privileges of Parliament. And notwithstanding he stood in such ill Terms with his People, yet a Way was found to pack Juries in London, and Indictments were found of many Crimes against some of the Lords: Whom having a Design to persecute, he summoned the Judges, Justices, and Sheriffs of the Kingdom, that he might be informed, what Power of Men they could assure him of, to serve him against the Lords: And intending shortly to call a Parliament, he tampered with them to have no Knight or Burgeſs chosen, but such as the
King

King and his *Council* should *name*. But finding by the Answer of the Sheriffs, that they could not raise any Forces upon such a Pretence, nor infringe the ancient *Liberty in Elections* to Parliament; the King and the Duke of *Ireland* sent in to all Parts to raise Men in this Quarrel against the Lords, consulting on some Devices how to entrap them. The Duke of *Gloucester* being advertised of this, had a secret Conference with the rest; and assembling a numerous Body of Men, stood upon their Guard, and sent Commissioners to the King, requiring such Traitors and Seducers as were about his Person, to be delivered up to them. The King was advised by the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and others about him, to offer *Calais* to the *French* King, to procure his Assistance against the Lords; and withal sent to the Mayor of *London*, requiring to make an Estimate of how many able Men might be raised in the City; who making Trial of what could be done on such Occasion, received this Answer from the People; That *they would never fight against the King's Friends, and Defenders of the Realm*. In the mean time the Earl of *Northumberland* interposed with his Advice, and persuaded the King to send for the Lords under safe Conduct, and friendly to expostulate with them: To which the Lords consented, upon Oath given by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor, that no Fraud, or evil Practice, should be used against them: But being ready to come according to Appointment, they received an Intimation of an Ambush laid to entrap them, and so desisted. If the King was privy to this Plot, he was guilty of an Action most unworthy of a Prince: But the Conspirators were certainly known, yet not called to Account

for it. After this, upon a more secure Conduct from the King, the Lords presented themselves before him; and after some cholerick Contest, a Reconciliation was made; and it was concluded, that all Matters should be heard and regulated in a Parliament, speedily to be call'd. Hereupon, the Favourite-Lords were highly dissatisfy'd, and plainly told the King, they would not hazard their Appearance at such a Meeting; and so the Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest of that Faction, withdrew from Court, and absconded. But the King, not able to brook their Absence, ordered an Army to be rais'd for the Safeguard of the Duke of *Ireland*, and to re-conduct him to his Presence; who being encounter'd on the Way by the Earl of *Derby*, he fled, and escaped by leaping into a River; but after two or three Years dy'd miserably in a foreign Country.

And now the Lords having got Matter enough against the King, at least to justify their taking up Arms, march'd directly to *London* with 40,000 Men; and some of them going to the King in the *Tower*, they shew'd him *the very Letter*, which he had writ to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their Destruction; as also the *Letters writ to him by the French King*, importing a safe Conduct for him to come into *France*, there to do Acts tending to his own Dishonour, and the Prejudice of the Kingdom; which being done, they civilly retreated, upon the King's Promise to come next Day to *Westminster*, to concert all Matters; but *the fickle King alter'd his Mind*, before he went to Bed, and discover'd his Purpose to avoid the Meeting next Day. The Lords being advertis'd of this, sent a peremptory Message to him, that if he did not come according to his Promise, they would chuse another King, that should hearken to the faithful
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Counsel of his Lords. The King, sensibly touch'd with this sharp Message, gave them a Meeting ; and they positively insisting, that the Traitors so often complain'd of, should be removed from the Court ; he at last, with much Reluctancy, consented to their Desires, and so the whole Nest of Vipers was dissipated ; some expell'd the Court, some bound by good Sureties to appear and answer, and some committed to Prison. When the Parliament met, they proceeded roundly ; the *corrupt Judges were arrested* in their Seats of Judicature, and carried to the Tower, for acting contrary to the Agreement made in the preceding Parliament ; the Duke of Ireland, and the Rest of that Crew, cited to appear and answer to certain Articles of High Treason, and for Non-appearance banish'd, and their Lands and Goods seised to the King's Use ; Sir Robert Tresilian was hang'd, Sir Nicholas Brember beheaded, several others executed, and the Judges condemned to die, and the King obliged by Oath to stand to such Order as the Lords should set down. Some Years after, upon a Riot committed in London, the King seised on their Liberties, and took away their Charter, which could not be restored till they paid a Fine of 10,000*l.*

I intend a compendious Abstract, and not a compleat History : Therefore, I studiously omit the Recital of many Transactions and Occurrences, co-incident with this Relation ; as not having a direct and principal Concernment in the Estate and Life of King *Richard*. Unstable Fortune had the Ascendant over all the Affairs of the poor King ; and the Course of his Reign was embroiled with a strange Vicissitude of prosperous and adverse Accidents. The Duke of Gloucester, and other Lords, entering into a Combination to seise upon

upon the King, the Plot was detected, and their Lives taken away for the Assurance of his Safety. A Parliament was call'd, wholly conformable to the King's Will ; they that opposed him were banish'd, confiscated, and executed ; and the whole Power of it devolved on a certain select Number of Commissioners, to the great Prejudice of the State, and a dangerous Example to future Times : A Pardon was granted to all the Subjects, except Fifty, whose Names not being expressed, he kept the Nobility under an Awe, that if any of them offended him, they might come under the Notion of exempted Persons ; and thus the King seem'd secure against all Mischances.

But an unforeseen Accident, grounded on a very slight Occasion, produced an extraordinary Revolution, by which the whole Frame of Government was unhinged ; and that *Cloud, which at first appear'd but of the Bigness of a Hand*, soon overspread the *Sky*, and dissolved in a tempestuous Shower of Blood. The D. of *Hereford* was banish'd the Kingdom for six Years, and several Persons of Note and Quality, either by voluntary withdrawing, or a compulsory Exile, went beyond the Seas. The Duke within a short Time was advertis'd, that his Father was dead, (and thereby he became Duke of *Lancaster*) and that King *Richard* had seized into his Hands, all the Estate descended to him by his Father's Death. And meeting often with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then in Exile, and mutually lamenting the deplorable Condition of *England*, the enormous Actions of the King, and the Impossibility of ever reclaiming him ; they began to enter into Consultation, by what Means best to get him removed ; and in the very Nick, Solicitations came from several Parts of *England* to urge the Duke to hasten over, and to take the Government
upon

upon him, promising all ready *Assistance* to that Work. The Duke presently grasp'd the Opportunity, and without further Deliberation, prepared for his Return; and with a very few Lords and Gentlemen, and about 60 private Persons, presently put to Sea, and landed in *Yorkshire*; which was no sooner known, but several *Lords*, and great Numbers of the *Gentry and Common Sort*, flock'd in to him. And tho' he was invited to come and take the *Government* upon him, yet he pretended no other Cause, but to take Possession of the Inheritance descended from his Father, and most unjustly seized and detain'd by King *Richard*. His Forces increased daily, and a mighty Army was got together, and all the King's Castles forthwith surrendered to him; many of the King's Friends were arrested, and some put to Death. All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, and for six Weeks (by reason of contrary Winds) had no Notice of the Duke's landing: After which Time, wasting many Days in dilatory Preparation, he landed in *Wales*; but hearing that all the Castles, from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Bristol*, were delivered up to the Duke of *Lancaster*; that the greatest Part of the *Nobility and Commons* were joined with him, and his principal Counsellors taken and executed; he fell into absolute Despair, dismissed his Army, bidding every one to shift for himself, and the next Night stole away, and got to the Castle of *Conway*. The Duke proceeded on his March, and every Day some *Lords and Gentlemen* of Account came in to him; and having proffered Conditions to the King, with which he seemed to be content, he agreed to meet the Duke; but upon his Journey was seized by an Ambush laid for him, and carried to *Flint Castle*. Thither the Duke came, and carry'd the King with him by easy Journeys to
London,

London, and the next Day lodged him in the *Tower*. Presently a Parliament was called by the Duke, but in the Name of King *Richard*, and many heinous Crimes laid to his Charge, ingross'd and summ'd up in three and thirty Articles ; for which the Parliament adjudg'd him to be depose'd from all Kingly Honours, and Princely Government : Whereupon the King, by a formal Instrument, made a solemn Resignation of his Crown and Authority ; making it his Request, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his Successor, and in Token thereof, taking the Signet from his Finger and putting it upon that of the Duke's : Which being reported to the Parliament, they approved of it, and appointed the Sentence of his Deposition to be publickly proclaimed. We have followed this most unfortunate Prince to the last Scene of his Life ; but the Manner of his Death, is so variously reported, that it is hard to pitch upon that Author, on whose Credit we may safely rely. It is most certain, that he did not long survive his Resignation ; but being carried to *Leeds*, and from thence to *Pomfret*, soon after a Period was put to his Life and Miseries together, in the 33d Year of his Age.

If he did not imitate his Father, yet he resembled his Mother, and was the goodliest Person alive. His *Disposition* was good, but corrupted by *Education* ; his *Inclinations* prompted him to Virtue, but were perverted by *Flatterers* and *Evil Counsellors*. Crafty Men made Advantage of his *Credulity* ; and he was ruined by too strict a *Constancy*. If he had not been deficient to himself, his Opposer had not so easily prevail'd : His *Timidity* appeared in not fighting for his Crown ; his *Moderation* in the Surrender of it ; and his *Courage* in surviving the Loss.

T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
C H A R L E S the S e c o n d .

I Am now engaged in a difficult Task, divided between Truth and Respect ; being to describe the Life of a Prince, who (contrary to the Custom of the World) was better spoken of *while he lived*, than he has been *since his Death*. His Fame had suffer'd a great Diminution, by succeeding so admirable a *Father* ; had it not recover'd by the Prospect of such a *Brother*, who was to be his Successor. If in the Lives of former Kings any Mistake was committed, the Records and ancient Writers must vouch the Relation, and the present Age cannot confute it : But to give an Account of a Life so lately ended, requires an Exactness beyond my Reach, wherein the least Trip overthrows the Credit of the Reporter. To enumerate the Virtues of a Prince, without taking Notice of his Failings, is but to flatter his Memory and deceive Posterity ; to reckon up his Vices, without intermingling the Mention of his laudable Actions, is but to sully his Fame, and deduce no Benefit to the Curiosity of Observers. I resolve to tread lightly on his Grave, and not press too hard upon the Heels of Truth. I may pursue my Topic, in renouncing the Instances which

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justly denominate him *unfortunate*, and note the Errors of his *Government*, without Reflection on his *Person*.

That he was of extraordinary Parts, that he had a quick mercurial Wit, a great Insight into the Liberal Sciences, and even the Mechanical Arts, no Man will deny : He had a piercing, if not a solid Judgment ; his Intellect was comprehensive, if not profound.

His Lenity and Clemency were very conspicuous, and recommended him to the Love and Praise of the Spectators ; yet it so fell out, that such egregious Acts of Severity and Injustice were exercised upon all Sorts of Men, as will puzzle Posterity to comprehend the Meaning.

In his Time, no Man had the Reason to set a Value on himself for any Promotion, nor no Man had cause to despair of a Preferment : The Cards were daily shuffled, and unexpected Chance turn'd up the Trump.

Upon all Occasions he profess'd a great Zeal for the Protestant Religion, yet every Day that Profession lost Ground. Popery was not allow'd, yet it hover'd among us : The Frogs did not cover the Land, yet the Jesuitical Vermin swarm'd in every Corner : Tho' the Papists were not shelter'd by a legal *Indemnity*, yet they grew numerous and confident upon the Expectation of an approaching *Jubilee*.

His Brother and Successor had a mighty Ascendant over his Genius, catching at all Opportunities to gratify his Ambition, and propagate the Faith ; while the other indulged himself in Pleasure, and avoided the Fatigue of Government.

There are so many living Monuments of his *Incontinency*, that if I forbear to mention it, I shall render the Truth and Impartiality of my other Remarks suspected. It is usual with Kings and Princes

Princes to prosecute prohibited Amours; but so great was his Generosity, that he thought it a Disparagement to manage a *secret Intrigue*. His Liberality was so extraordinary, that he spared not to give a Thousand Years Purchase for a *Moment's Fruition*.

He lost the *Love of his Friends*, by too fond a *Love of his Brother*; and by too stiff a Refusal to consent to his Exclusion, he endanger'd the Interest of his Family, and gave a Shock to Monarchy itself.

The first and greatest Misfortune that befel *Charles* the Second was, the cruel and ignominious Death of his Father, that incomparable *Charles* the First, sentenced to die, and publicly executed before his own Palace, by a Junto of flagitious Men, garbled out of a Parliament by the Usurper. From his Father's Martyrdom to his own Restauration, was one continued Scene of Misery and Sorrow. In the Year 1648 *Charles* the First was deprived of Life by his *Evil Subjects*, his *Friends* looking on, and not able to prevent it: In the Year 1660, *Charles* the Second was brought to the Throne by his *good Subjects*, his *Enemies* looking on, and not able to hinder it: The one an inhuman Action, and unparallel'd; the other, wholly surprising and miraculous: In the one, no *Blood* shed, but that of the *King* himself; in the other not one Drop of Blood drawn, even of the meanest *Subject*.

Charles the Second was then beyond the Seas, and succeeded immediately to the Right of three Kingdoms, but did not actually possess them for many Years. And now behold a King truly *unfortunate*! His Father barbarously destroy'd, and he in no Capacity to call to account the bloody Actors of that Tragedy; three potent Kingdoms usurped by Violence, and by Force detain'd from him, and he not able to put in a Claim for his Right, or contend for the Recovery: His *Ene-*

mies insulting in their Success, abjuring his Title, and metamorphosing a glorious Monarchy into an Anarchical Commonwealth: His Friends harassed, imprison'd, plunder'd, sequestred, executed, no Man daring to own his Allegiance, or capable to contribute Advice or Aid toward his Restoration: Himself a deserted Exile, wandering from one Prince's Court to another, to seek for Shelter and Subsistence; while the subtle Machinations of the Usurpers did not more sensibly aggravate and advance his Unhappiness, than the prosperous Attempts of his loyal Subjects to compass his Restitution. In *Scotland*, the heroick Acts of the most renown'd Marquis of *Montross*, (who with an inconsiderable Handful of Men traversed the Kingdom, and performed such Exploits as may justly denominate his History *the Moral of a Romance*) only ended in his Destruction; while he became a *Sacrifice* to his Enemies implacable Malice, and a *glorious Martyr* for Loyalty, but with an irreparable Detriment to his Master's Cause. In *Ireland*, the most Noble Duke (then Marquis) of *Ormond*, was so successful in his Undertakings, that he had reduced the whole Kingdom to the Obedience of the King, except *Dublin*, and *Londonderry*; to the first of which having laid a close Siege, and beleagured it with a royal Camp, he was disarray'd by a fatal Sally from the Town, his Army totally routed, and himself obliged to a hasty and hazardous Escape; which Disaster was follow'd by the Rendition of *Drogheda*, and many other considerable Towns; and after a faint Resistance the whole Kingdom was subjected to the triumphant Conqueror, and the Interest of the King wholly exterminated. *England* was so manacled with the Chains of an armed Power, that they could not budge; the Royal Party, then call'd the Cavaliers, were debarr'd the Liberty
of

of meeting at Home, or stirring Abroad; their Persons were disarm'd, their Houses ransack'd, and their Estates brought into the unmerciful Inquisition at *Goldsmith's Hall*. In some Corners of the Land, small Parties started up now and then, to shew their Loyalty, and manifest their Allegiance; and the King was received into the Island of *Jersey*; but by a Fleet sent thither by the usurping Power, soon compell'd to forsake it; so that these weak Strugglings, like the last Efforts of Nature, tended only to diminish the Number of the King's Friends, and to heighten his *Infelicity*. In the Year 1650, the King was invited into *Scotland*, landed there safely, received with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction, and solemnly proclaimed King. But to disturb his Tranquility, and interrupt the calm Fruition of his new acquired Sovereignty; *Cromwell* (that victorious Rebel, who in the Space of one Year, had reduced almost all the Garrisons in *Ireland*, and, *Cæsar*-like, made a compleat Conquest of that Kingdom, only by walking thro' it) is dispatch'd into *Scotland*, who in *July*, entred that Country with an Army of 16,000 Men effective; the *Scots* were not idle on their Side, but form'd an Army consisting of six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and 15,000 Foot; a Party of whom attempting to beat up the Enemies Quarters about *Musleburgh*, surpris'd the Out-guards, and routed the first Regiment that oppos'd them; but were so warmly received by the rest, that the Commander being wounded, the whole Party was disorder'd, and pursu'd to the Army, and the whole Camp in Danger of a Surprisal, had not the King himself unexpectedly appear'd in Person, and stemm'd the Torrent. But in *September* following, happened a fatal Decision of the Dispute at *Dunbar*, where the *Scots Army*, re-inforc'd to above 20,000 Men, and presuming

presuming on a certain Victory, (having inclosed their Enemies beyond a Probability of an Escape) encountred the *English* Army, then decreased to the Number of 12,000, and with much Courage and Gallantry charged them ; but the Hand of God was in it, the whole Army was routed, 4000 slain, and 9000 taken Prisoners, with the Loss of 300 on the Invader's Side : After which, the King's Interest in *Scotland* declined daily, the Enemy getting Advantage by the Dissention between the Court and the Kirk-party, and *Cromwell* by springing of Mines, (but more by corrupting the Governor with Money) had *Edinburgh-Castle* surrendered to him, the taking of which was follow'd with the Loss of many more Garrisons. Nevertheless, the *Scots* were neither daunted in their Courage, nor deficient in their Allegiance, but proceeded to the Coronation of the King, and he to the calling of a Parliament ; and having got together a good Body of an Army, it was thought best, that the King should give *Cromwell* the Slip, and make a sudden Descent into *England*, leaving him to take his Swing and range thro' *Scotland*. To make this Enterprize the more hopeful, the Earl of *Derby*, and many other loyal Persons, began to peep out of their Recesses, and to use all Expedition to join, but a malignant Constellation still influenced K. Charles his Affairs ; some of his Abettors were intercepted, some routed, and the Earl of *Derby* discomfited, and many Persons of Quality and Resolution taken Prisoners. At last came on the dismal Engagement at *Worcester*, that critical Arbiter of the King's Cause ; from whence we may date the Depression of the Monarchy, the Exaltation of Anarchy, and Confusion of Governments. I take no Pleasure in descanting too long upon so unpleasant a Theme ; in a Word, the King was defeated, his whole Army

my given up to Death, or Captivity, except a very few, with whom he made his Escape, and after some Weeks spent in lurking, disguising, shifting, and uneasy travelling, he arrived safe in *France*.

The King was now actually divested of his three Kingdoms, his Enemies victorious, in Possession of his Right, and usurping the Regal Authority, under the Disguise of other Apellations: And howsoever the grand *Apostates* from Loyalty daily crumbled into Factions, and Divisions, and the Supreme Authority frequently changed its Dress, and put on a new Face; yet all concurred in the Detestation of Kingship, and an abjuring the Family of *Stuart*. To recount the Transactions of the *Junto* at *London*, or the Exploits of their Legions, through all the Dominions subjected to the Commonwealth of *England*, might prove a tolerable Entertainment for the Reader; but I have no Inclination to admire their Policy, or cry up the Fame of the Protector: My Business is to observe the *disastrous Fate* of an Exil'd King, and (there being yet no exact Memoirs transmitted to us of his foreign Adventures,) to sum up *his Misfortune* in a nine Year's Banishment, by noting how miserably he was abandoned, thrust and kept out from the Possession of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, a Pensioner to Strangers, and all Designs of his Friends At-home, or his Allies Abroad, frustrated and baffled.

But when the Almighty Governor of the World had so long scourged the Royal Family, as to his Wisdom seemed sufficient, and all the Practices of human Strength and Invention were rendered ineffectual; in a sudden and unexpected Manner; without Means, without Contrivance, without the Success of a Battle, or the Operation of any Stratagem; the Republican Babel was o-

ver-turned, the King restored, and peaceably seated in the Throne of his Ancestors.

From his Restoration he reigned more than twenty-four Years. and I wish I could say happily. But not being blessed with a legitimate Issue, he was continually teized with the Incroachments of an impatient Heir: Having misapplied his Revenues, (which were vastly increased beyond all that was given to his Predecessors,) he was by his Necessities induced frequently to call Parliaments, and by his evil Councils as often prompted to dissolve them: His gentle Disposition inclined him to an universal Indulgence; but the malevolent Insinuation of Self-interested Men misled him to a Connivance at extraordinary Severities: The Papists hated him for avowing so much Favour to the *Church of England*; and the Dissenters blamed him for a suspected Propension to the *Church of Rome*: His Constitution was happy; but by his irregular Courses he raised Batteries against his own Health; and he might have lived longer, if he had not lived so fast. The Endowments of his Mind were admirable; but his Immersion in Pleasures over-shadowed his Reputation: The prolonging of his Life had given an Adjournment to the Mischiefs that quickly assailed both Church and State; but one Sort of Men thought he lived too long. Whether any Hand, but his own, contributed to the accelerating of his Death, I have no Warrant to make any Affelevation; let the future Writers of History adjust that Matter to the clear Information of Posterity. All I have to say, is, the News of his Death was published, before there was any Report of his Sicknes: He died of an *Apoplexy*, the 6th of *February* 1684, and the whole Body (whereof he was the Head) was presently seized with convulsive *Motions*.

The R E I G N

O F

J A M E S the Second.

THE Reign of *James* the Second was *so lately begun*, and (by the Mercy of God) *so soon determined*, that every Man's Remembrance of it may justly supersede the Trouble of a Repetition. There needs no Art, nor Arguments to convince the World, that he was more unfortunate than all his Predecessors; and every impartial Observer will allow, that he was the principal Engineer, that sapped the Foundations of his own *Happiness*.

If he had arrived at the Throne by an indirect Road: If he had gained it by Conquest, and owed his Title to the Umpirage of the Sword: If he had come in by Intrusion, Invasion, or Usurpation; by Craft, or Violence; by Force of Arms, or the Prevalency of Pensions: If he had jostled out the true Heir, or supplanted the lawful Pretender, or out-stripped his Competitor by the Aid of the People, or over-topped his Opposers by the Assistance of Foreigners: It had been no Wonder that the Crown had tottered on his Head, that his Seat had been uneasy, and his Government short-lived. But when his Title was not disputed; when he was saluted King by an universal Acclamation; welcomed by the Addresses and Congratulations of all his Subjects; his Revenues settled and augmented; his Enemies subdued, and his Throne established by a Loyal Parliament and a submissive People; his Ruin must necessarily be imputed to himself; and all his Misfortunes undeniably accounted the Result of his own Miscarriage. So that while the History of

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all Ages and Nations do abound with Examples of the strange, cruel, false, and unnatural Methods used by ambitious Men to gain Principalities; King *James* must remain single upon Record, as the only Person that wilfully and industriously dethroned himself. We read of aspiring Men, who have dissembled, changed, and comply'd with the fashionable Religion of the Country, to insure their Possession: But it is without Precedent, that a Prince quietly settled in his Throne; courted by his Neighbours, obeyed by his Subjects without Reserve, or Distrust; not grudged, nor affronted in the private Exercises of his own Perswasion; should be so intoxicated by the Fumes of Zeal, to attempt the Subversion of the general Religion current through three Kingdoms, established by Parliament, and incorporated so into the Laws, that the Religion of the Nation is the Law of the Nation; and to intrude upon his Subjects a Way of Worship as dissonant from their Humour, as repugnant to their Conscience; a Way exploded by the former Age, and detested by this; and so forfeit his Right to the Imperial Crown of three opulent Kingdoms upon a fallacious Assurance of a Reprisal in Heaven; is such a stupendious Act of Supererogation, as may serve to supply half the Roman Catholick Church with a Superfluity of Merit.

On the sixth Day of *February* 1684 *Charles* the Second put off Mortality, and by his Death revived the languishing Hopes of the Popish Expectants. He departed about Noon, and in that very Afternoon *James* the Second was proclaimed in *London* and *Westminster*, by Order of the Council: To convince the World, that howsoever the Parliament laboured to exclude him from Succession by political Ordinances, and by a Course of Law; yet, that Design not being accomplished, they would not so much as hesitate,
or

or demur upon the Right of his Inheritance. He, on the other Side, saluted them graciously, promised to imitate his Brother in *his Tenderneſs to the People*, celebrated the loyal Principles of the *Church of England*, and paſt his Royal Word *to take care to defend, and ſupport it*. The Collection of the Customs, and the Duties of Tonage and Poundage, (which were annexed to the Crown during the King's Life,) were continued *de bene eſſe*, till the Meeting of a Parliament: All Men were quiet and contented, and he was congratulated with Addreſſes from all Parts of *England*, teſtifying a ready Obedience to his Commands, and devoting their Lives and Fortunes to the Defence of his Perſon, and the Maintenance of his Prerogative: His Acceſſion to the Crown was ſolemnized with great Acclamations of Joy throughout the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: Ambaſſadors from foreign Princes and States arrived daily, preſenting their Compliments of Condolence for the deceaſed King, and their Satisfaction in his Aſſumption of the Regal Power: On the twenty-third of *April*, the King and Queen were both crowned, and at his Coronation he took the accuſtomed Oaths *to maintain the Laws, and the eſtabliſhed Religion*: No King ever aſcended the Throne with leſs Oppoſition, Diſputes, or preliminary Cautions; none was ever attended with more apparent Circumſtances of Felicity; or had a fairer Proſpect of becoming glorious at Home, and formidable abroad. The Parliament of *Scotland* having prevented him in his Wiſhes, and outdone all their Predeceſſors in Abundancy of Zeal and Loyalty; a Parliament met alſo at *Weſtmiſter*, to whom the King reiterated his Aſſurance of *ſupporting the Church of England, preſerving the Government in Church and State, as by Law eſtabliſhed*, and a Reſolution never to invade any Man's Property.

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In this very Juncture, when the King had so endeared himself to the Parliament by such gracious Expressions, and they reciprocally courted him with all dutiful Respect, the unfortunate Earl of *Argyle*, (whose Persecution was unparalleled'd, attainted for Treason, before the Law that made it so was promulgated; and condemned only for scrupling to take the Test, which in a short Time after, it was a capital Offence to subscribe) landed in the Highlands of *Scotland*, and set forth a Declaration to justify his Undertaking, and to renounce all Allegiance to the present King; who immediately communicated the Intelligence he had received to the Parliament, and both Houses without Delay expressed their Resentment in Raptures of Love and Zeal, with Protestations to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes against all Opposers, and particularly the Earl of *Argyle*; and to demonstrate, that it was no Compliment, they presented him with a Bill, for settling the Revenues on him for Life, and resolved on an extraordinary Supply for these incident Occasions. While these Matters were transacting, News came to the King that the Duke of *Monmouth* was landed in the West of *England*, (an unseasonable Landing for that unhappy Gentleman! when the Parliament was charmed with the good Words, and amused by the great and gracious Promises of the King) with a small Party, but every Day encresing; who presently were proclaimed Traitors, and the King imparting the News to both Houses, they forthwith in a Transport of Loyalty reassure him that they will stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes against the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all other his Enemies; and with an unusual Expedition they passed two Acts; to augment his Revenue, by a new Imposition on Wine, Vinegar, Tobacco, and Sugar; and to secure

secure his Person, an Act of Attainder on the Duke of *Monmouth*. It was morally impossible for such inconsiderable Parties to effect their Purposes: The Parliaments in both Kingdoms were unanimous; almost all People relied on the King's Word, not doubting but he would continue a *Defender of the Faith*, though he was not a *Professor*. And so the Event proved; for within a few Days, or Weeks at most, the whole Enterprize came to nothing, the Forces in each Kingdom were routed and dispersed, the Duke and Earl both taken Prisoners, and both executed on the Scaffold.

Violent Hurricanes tear Trees out of the Ground; but the shaking of small Winds make the Tree take deeper Root; the quenching of an intestine Rebellion always sets the Prince some Steps higher, and depresseth the Subject as much. The Parliament had now sat long enough to do the King's Business, and the King had Business to do not fit to be entrusted to the Parliament; whereupon it was adjourned to the fourth of *August*, and from thence to the ninth of *November*. At which Time being reassembled, the King made the first Discovery of his Claim to a *dispensing Power*; telling them plainly, that he will not want the Services of such Men whom he accounted faithful, but would employ them in the Army, tho' they were not qualified according to the late Tests: The Parliament modestly and civilly expostulated this unexpected Resolution in an humble Address, and proposed an Expedient to moderate the Extremity of the Law, purely to gratify the Desires of their Prince; but this did not found well in the Ears of the Court; some other Measures must be taken, and so the Parliament was prorogued to the tenth of *February*, and here we may bid them adieu, having after several Prorogations been dissolved, as a Company of inflexible

flexible stubborn Protestants, who would not tamely comply with the King's arbitrary Pleasure. Several Noblemen and other Persons were now indicted and tried for their Lives, some escaped by the Merit of their ingenuous Defence, some were respited from Execution, and some suffered Death. The Earl of *Clarendon* was sent Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*, that the Protestants might be cajoled into a lavish Credulity, till Matters were ripe for their Destruction. An Army of 20,000 Men was raised, and encamped at *Hounslow-Heath*, because the Militia was not found to be useful; and the late Invasions of *Monmouth* and *Argyle* were a sufficient Warning to the King not to be taken again unprovided. But the erecting of a Popish Chapel in the midst of the Camp, and the open and daily Celebration of the Mass there, together with the setting up Convents of Friars, and Schools, and Seminaries of Jesuits in several Places in *London*, (the unclean Beasts crossing the Streets, and entering their Ark by Couples) began to startle the People; and the Dispatch of the Earl of *Castlemain* to *Rome* as an Ambassador to the Pope, and the entertaining a Nuncio from him, gave a mighty Umbrage of Offence to all considering Men. That strict Injunction by Law for every Man that exercised any Office, to take the Oaths and Test, was a great *Barricado* against the Preferment of Catholick Candidates; the Judges must be consulted, (or rather directed,) how to apply some Remedy; and they, to their eternal Shame, made false Glosses on the Text, betrayed the Law, the impregnable Fortrefs of *English* Property, and skrewed up the Rules of a circumscribed Monarchy to an absolute and despotick Government, to command without Controul, and to be obeyed without Reserve. But the putting a Muzzle upon the old Laws to keep them from biting;

biting, was not enough to carry on the Work, without introducing some Innovations; wherefore a Commission was given to certain Persons to order all ecclesiastical Affairs, with an Authority and Extent *almost unlimited*, and a *Non-obstante* to all Rights and Privileges. The first Essay made by this exorbitant Court, was on the Bishop of *London*, (a Person noble by Birth, and high in Office, revered and beloved by all Men for his Candor, Moderation, and many eminent Virtues,) whom for a frivolous Matter, without Colour of Law or Reason, they suspended from his Episcopal Function.

It was now high Time to recall the Earl of *Clarendon* from the Government of *Ireland*, that the Sword might be put into the Hands of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*. To enumerate the Mischiefs that have accrued to the Protestants by his Administration, would require a Treatise by itself; let it suffice to say, that in that miserable Kingdom Popery was predominant, and bare-faced Mass-houses set up in every Town and Village, the Corporations changed, their Charters condemned, all Offices Civil and Military conferred on Papists, the Act of Settlement (which the King had so seriously promised to keep inviolated) infringed and eluded, and Gentlemen dispossessed of their Estates by erroneous Judgments, the Protestants disarmed and dismounted, such as were able to remove forced to fly, and such as staid behind, subjected to all the Insolencies and Barbarities of Slaves vested with Authority.

To *Scotland* strict and severe Orders were sent to restrain all Field Conventicles, and in *England* the Dissenters were indicted, fined, and imprisoned. And yet within a short Time after, a *general Indulgence* was published to all Persuasions, with a *counterfeit saving* to the Rights of the Church of *England*! the King being made to believe,

believe, that since he was secure from any Opposition from the Church of *England*, (that lying quietly intrenched under the *Blinds* of *Non-resistance*, and *Passive Obedience*;) if he could but cast a Mist before the Eyes of the Dissenters, and muffle their Hands, and charm them into a supine Security; the desired Reformation might proceed gradually without Interruption, and after a while the Doors might be opened, and Popery let in with a full *Breast*. But they were grossly mistaken in their Politicks: The illegal Proceedings against the Bishop of *London*, seconded by the arbitrary and most unjust Persecution of the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and the Ejection of the President and Fellows of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, and the Intrusion of profest Papists in their Rooms, opened the Eyes of all Sorts, and quickly taught the Dissenters what they were to expect, (whose Toleration was temporary and precarious,) when such open Invasions were made on that Church that was firmly established by Law.

But unless the Jesuits and Popish Counsellors had been Self-Murderers, and conspired to overthrow their own Designs, by their imprudent and precipitate Actings, they had never abused the poor King by such pernicious Advice, to attack the Church of *England* in the Persons of the Bishops, who were the Reverend Fathers of it; to lay such a Snare before wise and religious Men, as must endanger their Safety, or prejudice their Conscience; and because they presented an humble Apology by way of Petition, (a Privilege allowed to all Men by the Laws of God and Nature) imploring to be excused from being made Instruments to countenance and publish the monstrous Assertion of an absolute and dispensing Power; they were committed to the *Tower*, indicted of a Misdemeanor, compelled to plead, tried by a Jury, and fairly

fairly acquitted upon their Trial, to the Shame and Confusion of their Prosecutors; and to the inexpressible Joy and Satisfaction of the whole Nation.

The King hoping to establish that by Law, which he could not bring to pass by his Will and Power, proposed the calling of a Parliament; whom, that he might form to the Standard *set out* by the Popish Cabal, he condescended to such mean Shifts, and such indirect Practices, by forestalling Men's Judgments, and pre-engaging them against the Liberty, and Indifferency of their Votes, and turning Men out of their Employments, who would not abjure the natural Freedom of their Reason, that in mere Decency and Respect, I forbear to enlarge upon it.

Neither will I any more than make mention of the Intrigue about the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*: Great Pains have been taken to offer convincing Proofs to the World of the Legitimacy of that Child; whereas there is nothing so hard to be proved as a Business of that Nature: And the Suspicion of an Impostor has made such an Impression on common Belief, that an Act of Parliament in favour of the Birth would hardly reconcile the People to a Submission.

The bloody Executions in the West of *England*, upon the unhappy Abettors of the Duke of *Monmouth*, exasperated Multitudes of People into Discontent and Mutiny: But when it was reported, that the King had given the Lives of so many wretched Men by wholesale to his Servitors, to be retailed by them for Lucre and Profit, the whole Nation was affected with that unexampled Barbarity, and became seasoned with a secret Aversion to his Government.

The furious Drivers of the Jesuitical Plots began too late, to be sensible of their mistaken Policy; they had stretched the Prerogative so high, that it began to crack; they had by their damnable Counsel hurried the *unfortunate* King to the

Brink of Ruin : The Sky began to thicken with Clouds, and Thunder was heard a-far off. Wherefore they began with all Haste to tack about, to unravel that Work, which with so many Hands and such indefatigable Industry they had been knitting. Suddenly and unexpectedly a Proclamation issued to summon a Parliament, with Exclusion of the *Roman Catholics* ; soon after, the *Charter of London*, and all other *Corporations*, was restored ; The Suspension of the Bishop of *London* taken off ; The Vice-Chancellor and others of *Cambridge*, and the President and Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge in Oxford*, re-instated in their Places ; The monstrous Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs dissolved ; a Proclamation set out carrying the Face of a general Pardon, but squinting at an Indemnity to Papists. All Men were fill'd with Wonder at such a huddled and surprising Alteration ; that the great Ministers of State should so poorly truckle to the *Satisfaction* of the People ; that the King should send for the Bishops and court them, from whom a little before, he would not endure the Address of an humble Petition. But the Riddle was soon unfolded, and the Wonder was turned into an Exultation of Joy at the miraculous Revolution of Affairs.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Prime Gentry of *England*, sadly resenting the Invasion on their Religion, Liberties and Properties, observing the arbitrary and despotical Proceedings in *Scotland*, beholding *Ireland* wholly given up to Popery and Slavery, and their own ancient Laws and establish'd Religion subverted by him, who had so often, and so solemnly promised the Maintenance and Protection of them ; they began to consult of some proper and effectual Means to divert the impending Mischiefs, and to assure the Restitution of their ravish'd Freedom. To this End, they made Application to the most illustrious Prince of *Orange*, the Champion and Protector of

of the *Protestant Religion*; imploring his Aid to rescue them from *Oppression* and *Slavery*, and to save their Liberties, now expiring and at the last Gasp. He with a Bravery and Generosity, not to be matched in any History, descended to their Relief, (and postponing all his own Interests and Advantages) with the hazard of his Person, and the Consumption of a vast Treasure, landed in *England*, not with a mighty Army, lest it should look like an Invasion; neither with too small a Party, lest he should seem push'd on by a Necessity, or engaged in a desperate Undertaking. The King had a great Army on Foot, which was quickly increased by a considerable Addition. And with Appearance of great Resolution, and Confidence of Success, he march'd from *London*; but he soon found by a fatal Experience, that the *Hands* of his Subjects were directed by their *Hearts*, in which, having forfeited his Possession, he was to expect no Service or Assistance from them. On the contrary, the Lords and Gentlemen from all Parts of the Kingdom flock'd in with their Arms and Horses to join their Deliverer; and many Troops and Regiments of the King's Army deserted him, not enduring to be mingled among *Papists*, or be obliged to fight against *Protestants*. The King in this Perplexity was wholly irresolute what Course to take; at last he posted to *London*, where missing his Popish Favourites (whom fear of Punishment, and the Terror of an evil Conscience had utterly dissipated) he did not think it fit to trust his best and truest Subjects, but secretly withdrew himself in a Disguise, and being by a strange Accident discover'd, he was re-conducted to *London*, from whence at his own desire, he was attended to *Rockester*; but not being able to live without the Ministration of *Priests* and *Jesuits*, he slipp'd away to the Sea-side, and sail'd for *France*, voluntarily, and without Constraint *abdicating* the *Government*, leaving the *Throne vacant*, and the *Body* of his People without a *Head*.
Here

Here ended the Reign of *James the Second*, too violent to last long. A Prince who (when he was a Subject) had the Reputation of being a valiant Leader, a firm Friend, and an immoveable Observer of his Word and Promise: But the Assumption of a Crown, the Flatteries of a bigotted Queen, the desperate Counsels of a Popish and Atheistical Cabal, with a blind Persuasion of meriting *Heaven*, by the Adventure of all he had upon Earth, hath exposed him to Censure, and represented him under a contrary Character.

Perhaps he is absolved from the Guilt of his personal Vices by his Confessor, and he shall be acquitted of the Remembrance of them by me. I have so great a Reverence for those of his nearest Blood, that I shall not by the Blots of my Pen, imprint a Stain on his Memory, or diffuse the Tincture on his Posterity.

The CONCLUSION.

THUS you have a brief Epitome of the unfortunate Reigns of Six of the *English Monarchs*. Of which, the First *broke his Neck*; the next *broke his Heart*; and every one of them *broke his Vows to God*, and his Promises to his Subjects. The First of them came to an *untimely End*; the Second died with *Trouble of Mind*; the Two next were deposed from Government, and *violently put to Death*; the next died *suddenly*, to say no more of it; and the last *dethroned* himself, lives miserably, and in all human Probability, will not die happily. One of them was *struck to the Heart by an Arrow*; Another by *Grief*; Two perish'd by the Hands of cruel Men; the next died of an *Apoplexy*; I guess the Fate of the Last, but I will not take upon me to prophesy.

I wish all those who desire to be call'd Protestants, would understand their own Happiness (and joyfully and thankfully acknowledge it) to live under a Protestant King and a Protestant Queen; (a Blessing rare in these Kingdoms, and not known for many Years past) God grant them a long and prosperous Reign, attended with all the Instances of Glory and Felicity; that under their auspicious Influence true Religion may flourish, and detestable Popery may for ever be banish'd out of their Dominions.